

THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY

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WHOLE No. 1108

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COMMUNISM AND DICTATORSHIP IN ANCIENT GREECE AND ROME*

In these troublous days, with our emotions constantly harried by turmoil throughout all the nations, it is natural for us to feel that nothing comparable to our own difficulties has ever been experienced in the world's history. Granted that jet planes were unknown to ancient Athens, and that Caesar's Rome had no anxiety about the atomic bomb, did they, even so, have no crises akin to ours? Our world is, to be sure, far more complex, with its crowded populations and with all the added powers of a machine age; yet the fundamental desires and aspirations of human beings are unchanged. Love, hate, greed, idealism—these are still the motives that guide mankind. Through the centuries Greece and Rome have been our teachers in art, literature, and philosophy. They also tried out many forms of government, including communism and dictatorship. Since the communistic program and dictatorial power constitute the most crucial problems that face us today, it seems worthwhile to see if the experience of the ancients can give us any clue to the solution of these difficulties of our own time. From the many writers who might speak, I have chosen five: Plato and Aristotle, who give us the theories; Demosthenes and Tacitus, who speak from their own experience; and Cicero, who was both philosopher and practical statesman. So far as possible, they shall speak in their own words, I merely providing the mortar to bind the quotations together.

Until about twenty-five years ago, most of the western

world had come to believe that the worth of democratic government was almost axiomatic; so strongly had the pioneering Greeks laid the foundations of liberty and the right of the common man both to live his own life as he chose and to exert his full influence in the control of the state. At the beginning of this twentieth century, it seemed almost unthinkable that democratic freedom could ever again be seriously challenged as a way of life. And yet, at this very moment, probably the most burning question in the world is whether democracy or communism is to become the established system of government for all nations.

Among the Greeks, Plato seems to have been the first writer who gave serious consideration to communism. Being an idealist, he saw grave lacks in all the forms of government prevalent in his day. Perhaps some of us might agree with that view concerning parts of our own civic structure. Hence Plato wished to do the same thing that some ardent souls urge today: to sweep away all the outworn and antiquated governmental machinery, and make a fresh start. Plato, however, would build his ideal state solely on the foundation of justice, with the conviction that justice and advantage are identical, hence when justice is assured, happiness will inevitably follow.¹ This is a conception that the communist of today might well ponder upon. Idealist

¹ Plato *Republic* ii, *passim*. In the quotations which appear in the body of the text, the translation of Jowett is used for Aristotle and Plato; for Demosthenes *Olynthiacs*, *Philippics*, etc. (and for Philip's letter), that of J. H. Vince in the Loeb Classical Library; for Cicero *De officiis*, the translation of C. R. Edmonds in Bohn's Classical Library; for Cicero's other works, that of C. D. Yonge in the same series; for Tacitus, the "Oxford Translation, Revised," also in the Bohn Library. Some of the Cicero translations have been freely adapted by the present author, or replaced by her own.

* This is a revised version of a paper read at the May 14, 1949 meeting of the Pennsylvania State Association of Classical Teachers at Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania.

though he was, Plato felt that the complete sharing of everything was beyond the reach of the ordinary man; hence he imposed that system only upon the leaders of the state, whom he called "guardians," and who, he stipulated, must be philosophers. His demands upon them were rigorous: "Let us note among the guardians those who in their whole life show the greatest desire to do what is for the good of their country, and will not do what is against her interests."² "None of them should have any property beyond what is absolutely necessary.... Gold and silver we will tell them that they have from God; the diviner metal is within them, and they therefore have no need of that earthly dross which passes under the name of gold."³ This conception of the common people enjoying their own property in normal fashion, while the rulers of the state have only enough to satisfy their physical needs, does not seem, to judge from the whispers that occasionally escape from the Iron Curtain, to correspond to the division of material goods that is now practiced in Russia. Furthermore, though Plato restricted his communism to the philosophic guardians, still he admitted that it was merely an ideal in his own mind, and one in no likelihood of ever being realized. Human nature could not remain long, he conceded, on so exalted a plane.⁴

The more practical Aristotle evaluated communism as an actuality, and thus saw clearly its weaknesses. "That which is common to the greatest number," he said, "has the least care bestowed upon it. Everyone thinks chiefly of his own, hardly at all of the common interest.... For...everybody is more inclined to neglect the duty which he expects another to fulfill."⁵ "If they do not share equally in enjoyments and toils, those who labor much and get little will necessarily complain of those who labor little and receive or consume much."⁶ "Property should be... as a general rule, private, for when everyone has a distinct interest, men will... make more progress, because everyone will be attending to his own business."⁷ "Such legislation [i.e. communism] may have a specious appearance of benevolence; men readily listen to it, and are easily induced to believe that in some wonderful way everybody will become everybody's friend, especially when some one is heard denouncing the evils that now exist in states, suits about contracts, convictions for perjury, flatteries of rich men, and the like, which are said to arise out of the possession of private property. These evils, however, are due to a very different cause—the wickedness of human nature."⁸ Here Aristotle has put his finger directly upon the

source of most of our troubles in the world. It is not the system, but the human frailty applying the system, that is basically at fault. It is unfortunate that the communistic ideal, which can sound so fair, still has a strong appeal to many generous and noble spirits, who eagerly hail communism as assuring the universal brotherhood of man. Hence the practical Aristotles of our day need to make it clear beyond a doubt that, lacking universal justice, which Plato admits is beyond human reach, communism is more open to abuse than are most other systems.

The Greeks were fortunate in not suffering from the combination that is harassing the world today: communism plus a tyrannical government. Of the unjust ruler the ancients had abundant experience, and they have given us an excellent blueprint of his emergence, his methods, and the evils that he brings. Concerning the initial rise of a tyrant, Aristotle says, "History shows that almost all tyrants have been demagogues who gained the favor of the people by their accusation of the notables."⁹ Plato is more vivid: "The people always have some one as a champion whom they nurse into greatness.... And this is the very root from which a tyrant springs: when he first appears above ground he is a protector.... At first, in the early days of his power, he smiles upon everyone.... He to be called a tyrant, who is making promises in public and also in private, liberating debtors, and distributing land to the people and to his followers, and wanting to be good and kind to everyone!"¹⁰

But the very nature of a tyrant's position prohibits him from continuing in this virtuous course. He will inevitably be uncertain of his power, hence suspicious of all who could conceivably become his rivals. Aristotle analyzes the situation: "It is characteristic of a tyrant to dislike everyone who has dignity or independence; he wants to be alone in his glory, but anyone who claims a like dignity or asserts his independence encroaches upon his prerogative, and is hated by him as an enemy to his power."¹¹ Hence a certain man who wished to rule was advised by the tyrant Periander to "cut off the tops of the tallest ears of corn, meaning that he must put out of the way the citizens who overtop the rest."¹² The "purge," then, is no new bit of technique.

It is not enough, however, merely to eliminate the leaders. Aristotle continues: "The tyrant... must not allow common meals, clubs, education, and the like; he must be upon his guard against anything which is likely to inspire either courage or confidence among his subjects; he must prohibit literary assemblies or other meetings for discussion, and he must take every means

² Plato *Republic* iii. 412.

³ *Ibid.*, 416.

⁴ Plato *Laws* v. 739.

⁵ Arist. *Politics* ii. 3. 4.

⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 5. 3.

⁷ *Ibid.* ii. 5. 5, 6.

⁸ *Ibid.* ii. 5. 11.

⁹ *Ibid.* v. 10. 4.

¹⁰ Plato *Republic* viii. 565-66.

¹¹ Arist. *Politics* v. 11. 13.

¹² *Ibid.* v. 10. 13.

to prevent people from knowing each other (for acquaintance begets mutual confidence). Further, he must compel the inhabitants to appear in public and live at his gates; then he will know what they are doing; if they are always kept under, they will learn to be humble. . . . A tyrant should also endeavor to know what each of his subjects says or does, and should employ spies . . . ; for the fear of informers prevents people from speaking their minds, and if they do, they are more easily found out. Another art of the tyrant is to sow quarrels among the citizens; friends should be embroiled with friends, the people with the notables, and the rich with one another. Also he should impoverish the subjects; he thus provides money for the support of his guards, and the people, having to keep hard at work, are prevented from conspiring.¹³ Every one of these methods of subjugating a people has become all too familiar to us during these recent years.

The tyrant, in thus trampling upon the citizens' rights, seems to have been actuated by a thought similar to that of an early Roman poet quoted by Cicero: "Let them hate, provided they fear."¹⁴ Certainly modern dictators have given abundant evidence that such was their philosophy. They would do well to ponder upon another dictum of Cicero: "Those who desire to be feared must themselves fear those by whom they are feared."¹⁵ We have seen to what an extent Hitler maintained his power through terrorizing the German people. Occasionally a Niemoeller could be silenced only by the concentration camp; but the great mass of the people was all too ready to purchase life at the cost of compliance. A like choice was forced by Domitian upon Tacitus. As a senator, he must either vote approval of heinous deeds or else resign himself to being the tyrant's next victim. He shows us the terrific price he paid for his compromise with conscience. He considers Agricola happy to have died: he "did not behold the senators enclosed by a circle of arms; and in one havoc the massacre of so many ex-consuls, the flight and banishment of so many honorable women. . . . Soon after, our own hands dragged Helvidius to prison; ourselves were tortured with the sight of Mauricus and Rusticus, and sprinkled with the innocent blood of Senecio."¹⁶ "We gave, indeed, a consummate proof of our patience; and as remote ages saw the very utmost degree of liberty, so we, deprived by inquisitions of all the intercourse of conversation, experienced the utmost of slavery. With language we should have lost memory itself, had it been as much in our power to forget, as to be silent."¹⁷ In recent years a similar paralysis of terror has engulfed all who lived under a dictator. Also many who, by keeping silence,

played the part of collaborators, must now feel something of the self-loathing that smote Tacitus, as they realize that through their mere passivity they helped along the evil work.

To maintain his position, the tyrant must not only trample upon his people, but must even put the laws under his feet. Cicero shows the logical and appalling result of this act: "If so great a power belongs to the decisions and decrees of fools that the laws of Nature can be changed by their votes [by 'Nature' Cicero means fundamental right and justice] then why do they not ordain that what is bad and baneful shall be considered good and salutary? Or, if a law can make Justice out of Injustice, can it not also make good out of bad?"¹⁸ This brings vividly to mind Hitler's complete perversion of right and wrong, even to establishing the most abominable practices as praiseworthy when performed for the state or at his bidding. Along with the laws, expression of right opinion must likewise go, hence the burning of books that Germany endured. That also took place in Rome under Domitian. Tacitus, in bitter indignation, shows us the significance of that deed: "... the rage of tyranny was let loose not only against the authors but against their writings; so that those monuments of exalted genius were burnt at the place of election in the forum. . . . In that fire they thought to consume the voice of the Roman people, the freedom of the senate, and the conscious emotions of all mankind; crowning the deed by the expulsion of the professors of wisdom, and the banishment of every liberal art, that nothing generous or honorable might remain."¹⁹ The above quotations about the inevitable result of tyranny give such an accurate and detailed picture of what took place under Hitler that one almost wonders whether the Germans might not, perhaps, have awakened in time to their danger if they had pondered thoughtfully upon this experience of the ancients.

Even when he has established this strangle-hold upon the deeds, the words, and almost the thoughts of his subjects, the dictator still cannot pause. Unless he be continually extending his power, it must slip back. Hence, being now complete master of his own state, he must press on to the subjugation of neighboring lands. This course has been pursued by all three of the dictators of our time. Plato analyzes the psychological development of the tyrant: "He grows worse from having power; he becomes of necessity . . . more unjust, more friendless, more impious."²⁰ Consequently, when he has got rid of all his enemies, "and there is nothing to fear from them, then he is always stirring up some war or other, in order that the people may require a leader."²¹

¹³ *Ibid.* v. 11. 5-8.

¹⁴ Accius *apud* Cicero *De officiis* i. 28. 97.

¹⁵ Cicero *De officiis* ii. 7. 24.

¹⁶ Tacitus *Agricola* 45.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 2.

¹⁸ Cicero *De legibus* i. 16. 44.

¹⁹ Tacitus *Agricola* 2.

²⁰ Plato *Republic* ix. 580.

²¹ *Ibid.* viii. 566.

Demosthenes, in his long struggle against the encroachments of the Macedonian Philip upon the Greek states, had ample opportunity to learn at first hand the combination of bluster, force, trickery, and faithlessness by which a dictator gains foreign domination. Philip regularly began his interference in the affairs of other states by the ruse of bringing them friendly aid when they were troubled by the threats of external foes or by internal disorder. Demosthenes gives many examples: Philip sent his soldiers to the people of Oreus "to pay them a visit of sympathy, in all good will, for he understood that they were suffering from acute internal trouble, and it was the duty of true friends and allies to be at their side on such occasions."²² Again, after entering Thessaly as a friend and ally, he seized Pherae, an important city, "placing a garrison in their citadel, in order, I suppose, to insure their independence.... [As for three cities in Epirus] he has wasted their land with fire, stormed their cities, and handed them over to be slaves of his own kinsman, Alexander. How zealous he is for the freedom and independence of the Greeks, you may judge from his acts."²³ Philip, like our modern dictators, made the naive claim, "I am at peace with those who are willing to obey me."²⁴ "In a word," said Demosthenes, "he has hoodwinked everyone that has had any dealings with him; he has played upon the folly of each party in turn and exploited their ignorance of his own character."²⁵ How familiar are all these subterfuges!

The fifth column was also a device which Philip knew well, and through which he undermined many a Greek city. "At Olynthus," stated Demosthenes, "there were two parties in the state: Philip's men, entirely subservient to him, and the patriots, striving to preserve the freedom of their city."²⁶ Of Athens, Demosthenes said, "There are some on our side, yes, too many, who report everything to him."²⁷ "You are compassed about with plots and snares."²⁸ "You must reflect that it is impossible to defeat the enemies of our city until you have chastised those who within the very walls make themselves their servants."²⁹ "Athenians who make a parade of their goodwill to Philip, rather than to their own country, are wretches who deserve to perish at your hands unpitied, if you carry your brains in your heads, and not trodden down in your heels."³⁰ Would that the intellectual "Pinks" in this country might read and heed!

The Athenians in their toleration of free speech seem to have gone even as far as we do: "Ours is the one city in the world where immunity is granted to plead on behalf of our enemies, and where a man who has been bribed can safely address you in person."³¹ "Yet I observe that some of our speakers do not urge the same policy for you as for themselves; for you, they say, ought to remain quiet even when you are wronged; they themselves cannot remain quiet among you, though no man does them wrong."³² We have the same situation now. We all know the vituperation hurled by the communists and their sympathizers against anyone who censures Russia; yet they themselves not only slander our government, but even plot its overthrow.

Having thus annexed various cities of the Greeks by guile or force, Philip proceeded to follow the now well-known method of setting his own agents to rule them. In the city of Oreus, Demosthenes tells us, there were certain men who "were, as everyone knew, Philip's agents, but Euphraeus... was working for the freedom and emancipation of his countrymen.... Then a number of fellows banded together, with Philip for their paymaster and managing director, and dragged Euphraeus off to prison for setting the city in an uproar.... [This charge of disturbing the peace is not unknown today.] Then, having all the liberty of action they desired, they intrigued for the capture of the city.... Since that base and shameful capture of the city, they have been its rulers and tyrants... and the noble Euphraeus slew himself, giving thus a practical proof of the honesty and disinterested patriotism of his opposition to Philip."³³ We can think of many parallels to Philip's creatures, the "Quislings," who were put over the fallen cities; also many to the patriotic Euphraeus, who suffered for his devotion to his city, and finally took his life rather than submit to the despot.

As one city after another was hoodwinked or defeated by Philip, Demosthenes increasingly realized that Athens was the one state that had the power to stand in his way. "For observe! He wants to rule, and he has made up his mind that you, and you only, are his rivals."³⁴ "You stand judged the one and only power in the world incapable of abandoning the common rights of the Greeks at any price, incapable of bartering your devotion to their cause for any favor or any profit."³⁵ Philip "knows these two facts: that he is intriguing against you, and that you are aware of it. Assuming that you are intelligent, he thinks you are bound to hate him, and he is on the alert, expecting some blow to

²² Demos. *Phil.* iii. 12.

²³ Demos. *On Halonnesus* 32.

²⁴ Demos. *Phil.* iii. 27.

²⁵ Demos. *Olynth.* ii. 7.

²⁶ Demos. *Phil.* iii. 56.

²⁷ *Ibid.* i. 18.

²⁸ *Ibid.* ii. 27.

²⁹ *Ibid.* iii. 53.

³⁰ Demos. *On Halonnesus* 45.

³¹ Demos. *On the Chersonese* 64.

³² *Ibid.* 67.

³³ Demos. *Phil.* iii. 59-62.

³⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 17.

³⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 10.

fall, if you can seize an opportunity and if he cannot get in his blow first."³⁶ "Men of Athens, you must fix this firmly in your minds, that Philip is at war with us.... The chief object, however, of his arms and his diplomacy is our free constitution: on nothing in the world is he more bent than on its destruction.... For he knows for certain that even if he masters all else, his power will be precarious as long as you remain a democracy.... This, then, is the first thing needful, to recognize in Philip the inveterate enemy of constitutional government and democracy."³⁷ These ringing words of Demosthenes portray accurately not only the situation of Athens, but also of ourselves today. They give a convincing explanation of the continuous hostility with which Russia has menaced us, both at Berlin and in the United Nations. Also, now as then, there are the same tremendous issues at stake.

Seeking to avoid a test of arms with Athens, Philip resorted to evasiveness, false claims, obstructionism of every sort. A peace that was no peace was his aim. At first he won over the Athenians (who were all too eager to believe him) to make a compact with him, relying upon his specious promises. But their eyes were soon opened. "Nor would you, I am sure," declared Demosthenes, "have suspended military operations if you had imagined that Philip, after securing peace, would act as he has done, but his words at the time were very different from his present actions."³⁸ "With regard to the amendment of the peace, Philip's ambassadors conceded to us the right to amend it, and our amendment, universally admitted to be fair, was that each side should retain its own possessions. But he now contends that he never agreed to this, and that his ambassadors never even raised the point. This simply means that his friends here have persuaded him that you have no memory for what has been stated publicly in the Assembly."³⁹ One might remark that the question, "When is a fact not a fact?" seems to have been as much of an issue then as it is at present. Demosthenes continued, "Peace has been concluded, but all the good things that we were to enjoy are still to seek, and upon the Greeks has come such ruin as you well know."⁴⁰ "In the very act of accepting the peace, how completely you were deceived, how grievously you were robbed!"⁴¹ "Do not you see that his letter to you is all carefully calculated so that his words and actions may appear to conform to the universal standard of justice, while he has really shown supreme contempt for it?"⁴² Philip seems to have

been just as resourceful in waging a "cold war" as is his lineal successor today.

He was equally adept in his manipulation of propaganda. Among the orations of Demosthenes is a letter purporting to have been written by Philip to the Athenians, which, though probably not an exact copy of the original, is generally accepted by historians as faithfully reproducing the substance of Philip's protests.⁴³ It followed a period in which Philip's attempts against various Greek cities were thwarted by aid sent from Athens. Hence Philip writes in an aggrieved and indignant tone, always posing as the lover of peace, whose righteous enterprises have been hindered by the unjustifiable interference of Athens. He offers a tissue of half-truths and prevarications that are in the best tradition of modern propaganda. Along with these is the constant abuse of Athens as a war-monger, a charge with which the United States is well acquainted. Philip begins: "To the embassies that I have repeatedly dispatched to ensure the observance of our oaths and agreements you have paid no attention, so that I am forced to send you a statement of the matters in which I consider myself wronged.... In the first place, when Nicias, my herald, was kidnapped from my territory, you not only failed to bring the law-breakers to justice, but you kept the victim a prisoner for ten months."⁴⁴ This charge of kidnapping is a striking echo of the dramatic happenings to Mrs. Kosenkina last August! He continues, "Our mutual hostility has become so acute that when I wanted to convey my fleet to the Hellespont [Philip neglects to state his reason for this, which was to attack an unoffending state in that region] I was compelled to escort it with my army through the Chersonese, because your settlers there were at war with us.... In spite of this provocation, I kept my hands off the fleets and the territory of your state, though I was strong enough to seize most, if not all of these, and I have not ceased to appeal to you to have the points in dispute between us settled by arbitration."⁴⁵ He concludes with a supreme expression of injured innocence: "As you were the aggressors, and, thanks to my forbearance, are making still further attacks on my interests, and doing me all the harm in your power, I shall defend myself, with justice on my side."⁴⁶ Surely Molotov and Vishinsky would find a kindred soul in Philip. Cicero comments with horror on the evil power of propaganda: "There is nothing swifter than calumny; nothing is more easily set on foot, more quickly caught up, or more widely disseminated."⁴⁷

³⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 18.

³⁷ Demos. *On the Chersonese* 39-43.

³⁸ Demos. *Phil.* ii. 29.

³⁹ Demos. *On Halonnesus* 18.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 34.

⁴¹ Demos. *On the Chersonese* 63.

⁴² Demos. *On Halonnesus* 29.

⁴³ Cf. the Loeb translation of Demosthenes *Olynthiacs*, etc. (cited in note 1, above), pp. 334-49.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 345.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 349.

⁴⁷ Cicero *Pro Plancio* 23.

Demosthenes realized to the full the significance for Athens of this program of Philip's, that after he had swallowed up one small state after another by his mingling of treachery and force, he must inevitably come into conflict with Athens. The reaction of the Athenians to the repeated warnings of their orator offers a striking parallel to our own attitude when the Nazis began their depredations upon small European states, and we insisted that they would never come to war with us. The Athenians shrank from facing the unpleasant facts, and refused to believe that they must make the choice between aiding the weak states against Philip or of fighting the triumphant dictator in their own land. Isolationism was as appealing to them as it has been to us. Again and again Demosthenes tried to rouse his countrymen from their blindness and lethargy: "I urge you strongly to send help to Olynthus." "If Olynthus holds out, you will fight there. . . . But if Philip takes Olynthus, who is to prevent his marching hither [to Athens]?"⁴⁸ The Greeks seem to watch Philip "just as they would watch a hailstorm, each praying that it will not come their way, but none making any effort to stay its course."⁴⁹ "It is folly and cowardice to . . . imagine that your city is so great that no conceivable danger can befall it. Ay, and a disgrace too it is to have to say, when all is over, 'Why, who would have thought it? For of course we ought to have done this or that, and not so and so.'"⁵⁰ "Whenever any question arises that concerns Philip, up jumps some one and tells you how good a thing it is to preserve peace, and what a bother it is to keep up a large army."⁵¹ "They should reflect that the irksome thing is not the expense of securing our safety, but the doom that will be ours if we shrink from that expense."⁵² "If anyone mistakes for peace an arrangement which will enable Philip, when he has seized everything else, to march upon us, he has taken leave of his senses."⁵³ "If that [i.e. war] comes to pass, I am afraid, men of Athens, that . . . we may find that we have paid a heavy price for our indolence, and because we consult our own pleasure in everything, may hereafter come to be forced to do many of the difficult things for which we have no liking."⁵⁴ "Our business is not to speculate on what the future may bring forth, but to be certain that it will bring disaster, unless you face the facts and consent to do your duty."⁵⁵ It was for Athens the supreme tragedy that her citizens long turned a deaf ear to these impassioned warnings of Demosthenes. Instead of heeding them, they would at times

try appeasement, or, again, they would send an expedition to the aid of some beleaguered city, but it was invariably too little and too late. Finally Demosthenes realized that Athens was no longer able to stand alone against Philip. Therefore he travelled through Greece, building up an alliance of Hellenic cities. But by the time they had marshalled a united force against Philip, Philip's power had grown too great for them; and in the battle of Chaeronea they were utterly defeated. Their selfish love of ease and their narrow isolationism had destroyed the liberty of Greece.

Today, the nations of the world have been forced by extreme peril to learn the lesson that Demosthenes urged so eloquently upon his people: that there can be no compromise with tyranny, and that injustice can offer no foundation for peace. Hence, through bitter experience, many states have at last banded together for mutual protection, and have established the United Nations. This is a revolutionary undertaking in the world's history, and its success is as yet by no means assured. It calls for a measure of unselfish consideration of other nations' needs, and a strong grip upon fundamental right, that offer a supreme challenge to human nature. Now, the basic forces that can bring about the dissolution of a government of all nations are the same forces, writ large, as those which have often caused the collapse of a small city state. Hence, again, the thinkers of Greece and Rome can point out the ideals toward which we must struggle if we are to succeed in building a union of the world.

The first requisite of any civil union, both Plato and Cicero hold, is impartial justice for every individual. Cicero gives this definition: "A commonwealth is an association of men, bound together by the compact of justice, and the communication of utility."⁵⁶ "Justice commands us to have mercy upon all men, to consult the interests of the whole human race, to give every one his due, and to injure no sacred, public, or foreign rights, and to forbear from touching what does not belong to us."⁵⁷ "One thing, therefore, ought to be aimed at by all men: that the interest of each individually, and of all collectively, should be the same; for if each should grasp at his individual interest, all human society will be dissolved. . . . We are all included under one and the same law of nature; and . . . we are certainly prohibited by the law of nature from injuring another."⁵⁸ This conception, that justice must always be followed, even when it seems contrary to one's advantage, was realized by both Plato and Cicero as a very difficult standard for human nature. Hence they each discussed at great length the question "Are justice and expediency opposed to each other in reality, or only in appearance?" They both came to the conclusion that wickedness and

⁴⁸ Demos. *Olynth.* ii. 11, i. 25.

⁴⁹ Demos. *Phil.* iii. 33.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* iii. 67-68.

⁵¹ Demos. *On the Chersonese* 52.

⁵² *Ibid.* 54.

⁵³ Demos. *Phil.* iii. 9.

⁵⁴ Demos. *Olynth.* i. 15.

⁵⁵ Demos. *Phil.* i. 50.

⁵⁶ Cicero *De re publica* i. 25. 39.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* iii. 15. 24.

⁵⁸ Cicero *De officiis* iii. 6. 26f.

injustice, though they may seem for a time to bring advantage, can never in the end be of real benefit. Cicero concludes with this enlightened view of what is in the truest sense expedient: "Men pervert those things which are the foundations of nature, when they separate expediency from virtue. For we all desire our interest . . . , nor can we by any means do otherwise. For who is there that shuns his own advantage? Or rather, who is there that does not most eagerly pursue it? But because we can never find real advantage except in good report, honor, virtue, therefore we esteem these things first and chief."⁵⁹ "What is morally wrong can never be expedient."⁶⁰ This brings a more cheering view to the problem of building up a world society upon justice—if men can be educated to realize that it is for their own advantage to pursue the just course. Our present task in dealing with Russia seems, then, for us to take the part of a teacher, proving with patient repetition and steady firmness that wrong and injustice can never be truly beneficial. Even so, this conception of complete justice and generous treatment to be given to every people is obviously very difficult of realization. Cicero has virtually demanded of all states that they apply the Golden Rule, an ideal that individual men are still far from achieving. Small wonder, then, if the society of nations is as yet stumbling and halting along that path.

If this ideal of fair treatment for every people is ever to be realized, it must be built upon universal and right law. Concerning that Cicero says, "Law was neither a thing contrived by the genius of man, nor established by any decree of the people, but a certain eternal principle, which governs the entire universe."⁶¹ "True law is right reason . . . , universal, unchangeable, eternal, whose commands urge us to duty, and whose prohibitions restrain us from evil. . . . This law cannot be contradicted by any other law. Neither the senate nor the people can give us any dispensation for not obeying this universal law of justice. It needs no other expositor and interpreter than our own conscience. It is not one thing at Rome and another at Athens; one thing today and another tomorrow; but in all times and nations this universal law must forever reign, eternal and imperishable. It is the sovereign master and emperor of all things. God himself is its author, its promulgator, its enforcer. And he who does not obey it flies from himself, and does violence to the very nature of man."⁶² In these noble words Cicero has arrived at the very loftiest conception of the nature of Law and of its fitting role in the life of mankind.

In this, our excursion into the past, we have seen the ancients struggling against the forces of disorder, greed, and tyranny even as we are struggling today. Their

greatest thinkers brought to these problems not only practical efficiency, but also deep insight and exalted idealism. The truths which they uttered are universal and imperishable. They still challenge every man to strive toward the best that is in him. Humanity's progress is slow, and we still live on a plane far below the vision of Cicero and of Plato. But if we are ever to build a better world, it must be on these very foundations that they laid.

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FOOTNOTE TO PROFESSOR SCOTT'S "DOGS IN HOMER"¹

For everyone but the very stout-hearted, the most arresting passage relating to dogs, in the Homeric poems, is the one which represents Odysseus being attacked by the fierce dogs of the swineherd Eumaeus.² As the huge creatures, with angry barking, rushed upon him, Odysseus simply sat down, let his staff fall from his hand, and waited quietly until Eumaeus came to his protection.

It is made perfectly clear by the use of the word *kerdosynê* that Odysseus' singular behavior in the face of attack was not the result of panic or desperation, but was the sensible act of a guileful man, accustomed to reacting quickly and intelligently even in the most perilous situations. In short, Odysseus, in this instance, saved his life by his deliberate action. Homer could, of course, save the hero of his poem by whatever device he wished, but what would have happened under similar circumstances, in actual life?

We may discredit the account in the apocryphal life of Homer ascribed to Herodotus of the comparable experience of the blind poet himself with the vicious dogs of a goatherd on a lonely hillside.³ We must, however, have more respect for the accounts of two distinguished travellers in Greece who have left detailed narratives of their experiences under conditions which were similar to the Odysseus story. Heinrich Schliemann⁴ relates that once, in the wild country of the southern Peloponnesus, four great dogs rushed at him with savage barking. At first he threw stones at them and threatened them, to no avail. Then he called loudly for help, but there was no human being within hearing. In this disagreeable situation, he happened to think of what Odysseus had done when he was similarly attacked.

¹ Cf. *CW*, XLI (1948), 226-28. Undoubtedly Professor Scott would have mentioned this episode had he finished his article.

² *Od.* xiv. 29-31.

³ J. S. Blackie, *Homer and the Iliad* (Edinburgh, 1866), I, 91, translating ps.-Herod. *Vita Homeri* (lines 276-95 Westermann).

⁴ *Ithaka, der Peloponnes und Troja* (Leipzig, 1869), pp. 55 f.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* iii. 28. 101.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* iii. 12. 49.

⁶¹ Cicero *De legibus* ii. 4. 8.

⁶² Cicero *De re publica* iii. 22. 33.

So, following the example of his wise hero, Schliemann sat down on the ground and kept perfectly still. The four dogs immediately encircled him, growling menacingly, but they did not molest him. Presently his guide and a farmer came and released him from his canine captors.

More recently an Englishman, J. C. Lawson,⁵ had occasion to see demonstrated the effectiveness of Odysseus' behavior. He says, "I had been attacked on a mountain path by two or three dogs,— 'like unto wild beasts,' as Homer has it,—and the combat may have lasted some few minutes when the shepherd thought fit to intervene. Sheep-dogs are of course valued in proportion to their ferocity toward any person or animal approaching the flock, and a taste of blood now and again is said to keep them on their mettle. Fortunately matters had not yet reached that point, but none the less I suggested that he might have bestirred himself sooner. 'Oh,' he replied, 'if you are really in difficulties, you should sit down'; and when I showed some surprise, he explained that anyone who is attacked by sheepdogs has only to sit down and let go his walking stick or gun or other offensive weapon, and the dogs . . . will sit down round him and maintain, so to speak, a peaceful blockade." Mr. Lawson testifies that on subsequent occasions he tried the shepherd's counsel and found it sound, although "... it is uncomfortable to remain sitting with a blood-thirsty Molossian hound at one's back, ready to resume hostilities if any suspicious movement is made. . . ."⁶

If we are satisfied, without making the experiment for ourselves,⁷ to accept the testimony of Schliemann and Lawson that this is the correct procedure to follow under the circumstances, we shall still want to ask *why* dogs react to it as they do. According to Aristotle, "Even the behavior of dogs proves that anger ceases toward those who humble themselves, for they do not bite those who sit down."⁸ Pliny the Elder observes of dogs, "The force of their rage is mitigated if a man sits down on the ground."⁹ Plutarch, too, inclines to the same explanation, "... they shall find in dogs a fair demonstration of a gentle and yet lofty mind at the same time, in turning away from such as sit quietly upon the ground. . . . For dogs never bite or worry

those who prostrate themselves at their mercy and put on a face of humility."¹⁰

Antigonos Carystius¹¹ repeats the information that Odysseus acted shrewdly and thereby saved his life when the dogs attacked him. The eighteenth century editor of Antigonos,¹² however, is not satisfied with the explanation given by the ancients that dogs can be touched by man's humility. He says that it would seem, rather, that the sudden change of a man's general configuration when he moves from a standing to a sitting position is suspect to the dogs, so that they fear an ambush, and hence they await the man's next move. Mr. Lawson, on the other hand, believes that the dogs understand by such an action that a truce has been called. "... I must own, that in my own fairly wide experience, Greek dogs, as they are *sans peur* in combat, are also *sans reproche* in observing a truce."¹³

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REVIEWS

The Style of Aeschylus. By F. R. EARP. Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan, 1948. Pp. vii, 175. \$3.00.

There is no evidence that the "problem of method" bothered Aristophanes when he proceeded to examine Aeschylus' style. He knew what to do: verses are weighed in the scales; straight-edges and cubit-rules are held in readiness; Aeschylus' own favorite subjects and pet metaphors provide literary criticism with its first vocabulary, and instead of discoursing on *onkos* the critic applies the *phlathothratto*, *phlathothrat*. As contemporary scholarship cannot resort to such devices the problem of the best method in stylistic investigations continues to vex us. There is no royal road; every student of style has to decide for himself along what lines he is to proceed. Professor Earp has chosen ancient rhetorical theory as his guide. Following Aristotle's treatment of diction (*lexis*, *Rhet.* iii) he concentrates on compounds, epithets, metaphors, and similes. These classes—and also "rare and epic words"—would in ancient systems be treated under the heading *eklogê lexeôs*, choice of words. The complementary subject, *synthesis lexeôs*, is studied by Earp more briefly in a chapter entitled "The Structure of Sentences." The reviewer need not dwell on the wisdom of Earp's procedure. It is proved by his results.

⁵ J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 1910), pp. 32 f.

⁶ In a footnote (*ibid.*, p. 33, note 2), Mr. Lawson suggests that this may have been the *aekelion pathos* (*Od.* xiv. 32) "... which Odysseus would have endured for some time but for the intervention of Eumaeus. Otherwise the line must have been inserted by someone who did not appreciate the guile of Odysseus."

⁷ Commentators, from Eustathius on (*cf. Homeri Odyssea*, ed. Baumgarten-Crusius [Leipzig, 1823], *ad Od.* xiv. 29-31), have agreed to the accuracy of Homer's knowledge of the psychology of dogs in this episode.

⁸ Cf. Arist. *Rhet.* ii. 3. 6 (1380 a; Loeb translation).

⁹ Cf. Pliny *Hist. nat.* viii. 146.

¹⁰ Cf. Plut. *De sollertia animalium* 15 (= *Moralia* 970 E; Goodwin's translation).

¹¹ Cf. Antig. Caryst. *Historiarum mirabilium collectanea* 28.

¹² Cf. *op. cit.* in preceding note, ed. J. Beckmann (Leipzig, 1791), p. 53.

¹³ *Op. cit.* (note 5, above), p. 33.

To establish differences between the earlier and the later plays—which is his main object—Earp finds it necessary to distinguish between “striking” and conventional metaphors, between ornamental and revealing epithets, between compounds close to and remote from ordinary Greek usage. In the chapter on compounds he actually goes to the length of setting up five distinct types of them. These types are meant to take care of all possible nuances; they range from compounds found in ordinary speech to those which show Aeschylus at his boldest. Earp admits in effect that, when it comes to assigning individual compounds to one of these groups, subjectivity is bound to come into play. Taking cognizance of this admission, I should give him credit for proceeding with the greatest possible care and for showing admirable judgment. There is no doubt that the differentiations, even though at first glance some of them seem overdone, lead to a better appreciation of Aeschylus’ style.

Yet certain other categories in the chapter on compounds are open to question. Earp marks a goodly number of these formations as *hapax legomena*, others as limited to Aeschylus. The dictionary may bear him out, yet what, after all, does it signify if a word does not recur in the preserved literature? Do we know the vocabulary of the dithyramb? On the other hand, if Euripides or Callimachus, Himerius or Nonnus see fit to use one of these compounds, it obviously ceases to be Aeschylean, although it is hard to see what difference the later history of the word makes as far as its stylistic value in Aeschylus is concerned. Again, if Euripides calls Paris not *ainolektros*, as Aeschylus had done (*Ag.* 713), but *ainogamos* (*Hel.* 1120)—and there are good metrical reasons for the variation—*ainolektros* remains Aeschylean. I cannot understand why the whims of posterity should have a bearing on the poetic qualities of Aeschylus’ vocabulary.

A severe critic might also point out that Earp has not paid enough attention to the work of other scholars, but, instead of laboring this point or citing a list of books in which he might have found valuable observations, we will turn to Earp’s own achievements. The most interesting of his conclusions may be summed up in the formula that—like certain famous strategists—Aeschylus “grew bolder as he grew older.” There is a greater proportion of daring coinages in the compounds used in the *Agamemnon* than in those of the *Suppliants*. The number of striking images and metaphors increases in the later plays, and a larger part of the metaphors there employed symbolize emotional or spiritual conditions, describing not primarily the object, but its effect upon the mind. On the other hand, rare and epic words seem to occur more frequently in the earlier tragedies—a fact which is probably in part due to the exotic characters in the *Suppliants* and *Persians*. Earp also suggests that the sentences in the later plays are tighter and more

compact. The suggestion is certainly not baseless, yet on this desperately difficult subject further research seems needed before we can speak with confidence. I should like to accept the contention that in the earlier plays elaborate stylistic devices are at times merely descriptive and in a sense ornamental, whereas in the later works they are functional and dramatic. However, after comparing the *Suppliants* and *Agamemnon* from this point of view, I must say that the difference is not very noticeable. It is well to remember that, according to Aristotle, metaphors etc. make the diction ornate, whereas in Aeschylus many of them perform the principal *ergon lexeōs*, which is to *délonai*, to make clear. Earp must in fact often have wondered whether or not a particular word or phrase should be included in his list of metaphors.

At *Ag.* 485 a metaphor which is bold to the point of obscurity has gone unnoticed. I do not think that there are many cases of the kind; the word-lists and statistics which form an essential part of the book give the impression of having been very carefully prepared. Nor has less care been applied to their evaluation, to the separation of the accidental from the typical, to the interpretation of the stylistic material in the light of considerations relating to the plot and atmosphere of individual plays. For it is one of the many merits of Earp’s book that it does not treat style in isolation from content. The subject is not exhausted, yet future investigations will do well to build on the foundations that have been laid by Earp.

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Euripides and Dionysus: An Interpretation of the Bacchae. By R. P. WINNINGTON-INGRAM. Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan, 1948. Pp. viii, 190. \$3.50.

Readers of Euripides may be familiar with Mr. Winnington-Ingram’s name from the numerous quotations made from a preliminary draft of the present book throughout the notes of Professor Dodds’ edition of the *Bacchae* (Oxford, 1944). Those whose anticipation was thereby aroused will not be disappointed in the finished product. For this study, long in preparation (a first draft was completed in 1939), written in a clear, brisk, and agreeable style, is a model of sound literary criticism, clearly and carefully argued, full of fresh and interesting suggestions, and yet without the imaginative and subjective excesses of the earlier book-length studies of the play by Norwood and Verrall.

The greatest value of the book lies in its painstaking and masterly analysis of the text, which occupies the

main body of the book and consists of a close, almost line by line, examination. Especially impressive is the use constantly made, in interpretation, of repeated words and themes—the recurrent metaphor of the hunt, the various kinds of *sophia*, the theme of epiphany, and many others (see especially p. 164, footnote). Occasionally, but only occasionally, in finding significance in word repetitions the author is himself carried away by an excess of *sophia*; it is very doubtful, for instance, if there is any significant connection between *synechei dōmata* (392) and *syneches* (1308; see p. 143). Discussions of passages seldom depend on conjecture or on strained verbal interpretation; rarely, the interpretation strikes me as being over-subtle, as when the author finds in the mere simile of the escaping fawn (Stasimon 3, Strophe) a hint of the theme of revenge which fills the Refrain. The unity of the play is stressed throughout: the intimate thematic connections of ode with ode, the key position of the first Messenger's speech as a summation and a preparation, etc.

In the final two chapters, the author expresses his general views on the meaning of the play. Briefly, he finds that Euripides has used Dionysiac myth and cult as symbols to express "the wider theme, which is emotionalism as a factor in human life, both political and individual" (p. 152). No one in the play, it is argued, really sees Dionysus clearly and impartially, and the message of the play, the "wisdom" of Euripides, is that "insight and understanding are essential if human beings are to have a chance against the blind forces in and around them" (p. 170). There are many individual points of interpretation worthy of comment, but it must suffice to mention just one, of primary importance. The author rejects the distinction sometimes made between the "black" Maenadism of the Theban women and the spontaneous and therefore pure and blessed worship of the chorus; by a careful and illuminating analysis and comparison of the several odes, he argues very convincingly that the cruel and vengeful spirit of the Refrain of Stasimon 3, so strangely united with the peaceful piety of the Epode of the same song, is by no means engendered solely by the hostility of the chorus toward their persecutor Pentheus, but is inherent in the very nature of the Dionysiac cult, springing from "their uncritical acceptance of natural impulse" (p. 113).

Though I find the general trend of Mr. Winnington-Ingram's view of the play convincing, he seems, in a few points, to press his arguments too far. It seems to me unwarranted to conclude that Euripides "hated" Dionysus (p. 179). He certainly considered him—that is, the symbolic Dionysus of the play—dangerous, but I do not see how the *Bacchae* gives us leave to ascribe hatred to the poet who so clearly recognized the beauty as well as the bestiality of the god and his power. I think, too, that the attribution of "Dionysiac" qualities to Pentheus is carried too far; some there certainly

are, but to maintain that all his tyrannical characteristics are basically Dionysiac is surely an exaggeration.

Probably no precise interpretation of a great work of art can be convincing in every detail; but this book, even when it does not command the reader's assent, will win his admiration for the sanity of the author's approach and the sureness of his literary feeling. Everywhere there is a real freshness, originality, and soundness, deriving chiefly, I believe, from the fact that the author has sought, and with more success than any previous writer, to concern himself with "the text of the play, and with the whole text" (p. 10). Mr. Winnington-Ingram has made an impressive contribution to our understanding of the *Bacchae*.

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The Coins. By A. R. BELLINGER. ("The Excavations at Dura-Europos," Final Report VI.) New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949. Pp. ix, 214; 42 plates, 1 map. \$5.00.

This final report on the coins found at Dura-Europos consists of a catalogue, a commentary on the catalogue, a discussion of the hoards, sections on denominations and countermarks, and a final division entitled, "The Currency of Dura." There are also forty-two plates which illustrate most of the coins discussed in the commentary and show significant pieces enumerated in the catalogue.

Although the 14,000 coins found at Dura range from a Persian *siglos* of the fifth century B.C. to late *antoniniani* of Valerian (A.D. 256), most of the pieces are of Roman imperial vintage, with the majority dating from the first half of the third century A.D. Almost 9,000 coins fall into the category of "civic and provincial" issues.

The finds from Dura do not include a large number of novel or hitherto unknown coins, but this detracts in no way from the importance of Final Report VI. Much too frequently, in a report of this kind, the task of preparation is assigned to some eager, industrious, but inexperienced, neophyte. In the case of this particular volume, however, responsibility has not been delegated, and the work has been done by a singularly competent scholar. Professor Bellinger's skill never fails to warm the heart of a numismatist; it is an education in itself to observe his deft handling of this difficult material.

There is meat in these pages for the historian as well as for the numismatist. Dura's history is documented by its coins; the vicissitudes of the Seleucid era, the coming of the Parthians (113 B.C.), the brief occupation under Trajan (A.D. 115-117), and the return of the Romans in A.D. 165 are facts established entirely or in part by numismatic evidence, and it is also the coins which tell us that Dura was finally destroyed about A.D. 256. On

the economic side, the coins indicate that Dura (Seleucid, Parthian, and Roman) was usually within the Syrian orbit of Antioch regardless of its political affiliations. Professor Bellinger's interpretation of the hoards is especially fascinating. His analyses show, for example, that Hoard 1 with its predominance of tetradrachms and *antoniniani* (and its lack of *denarii*) must have belonged to a soldier; or, again, that Hoards 8 and 9, replete with small bronze, belonged to a shopkeeper.

The final section on the currency is interesting because in the case of Dura one is dealing with a town which normally did not have a civic mint. Except for the period 276-268 B.C. and for an indeterminate period in the first century A.D., coins were not minted at Dura. Instead, money came from the outside, brought into town by trade or as pay for the garrison. Of the 9,000 civic and provincial coins noted in the catalogue, over 6,000 are from the neighboring mints of Edessa, Nesibi, and Antioch.

Final Report VI shows the science of numismatics at its best, but it also demonstrates its limitations. Exchange rates and prices at Dura remain obscure; there is still much that we do not know about denominations and mintmarks, although Professor Bellinger cannot be held accountable for these gaps. On the other hand, the sudden (and brief) appearance in Dura of issues from Amasia at the beginning of the third century A.D. is, to my mind, inadequately explained. The theory that the Pontic cities were called upon to provide "large bronze for the eastern limes as far down as northern Mesopotamia" (p. 206) is somewhat weakened by the fact that half the Amasia coins found at Dura came from Hoards 8 and 9 (found in the same room and assumed to be parts of the same store).

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Le Miracle Grec: L'Orient Préclassique et la Grèce jusqu' à l'Époque de Démosthène. By MARTIN VAN DEN BRUWAENE. ("La Société et les Institutions de l'Antiquité Classique," Tome I.) Brussels: L'Édition Universelle, 1946. Pp. 395.

This book, the outgrowth of a course which the author has been giving at the Institut Saint-Louis in Brussels, is to be classified as a description of social and political institutions rather than as an inclusive treatment of Greek civilization or as a political history, although it has some of the characteristics of both. It invites comparison with those texts used to accompany courses in Greek civilization currently being given in American colleges and universities, but it is immediately apparent that M. van den Bruwaene has chosen to treat certain aspects of Greece in detail at the cost of reducing others

to small compass or excluding them. We find little space devoted to literature (with which, possibly, the student is already acquainted) and miss entirely a systematic presentation of philosophy and art. However, as far as art is concerned, the lacuna is partially filled by the numerous illustrations throughout the text, most of which are attended by a legend of such length that it should prove informative to the student.

An outline of the content follows. The main body of the text has been prefaced with chapters on Egypt and Mesopotamia, directed toward indicating the elements in these civilizations which influenced Greece. Approximately half the book is devoted to Athens; the chapter headings indicate the scope and emphasis: "The Aegean Civilization," "Sparta," "Athens before the Democracy," "The Stages of Athenian Democracy," "The Assemblies," "The Courts," "Finance and Economic Policy," "Religion," "The Formation of the Greek Empire," "Pericles," "The Age of Pericles," "The Peloponnesian War," "Alcibiades," "Demosthenes," "Independent Federations," "Private Institutions," "The Decline of Greek Power." The record of lesser external struggles among the city-states has been eliminated; in fact the narration of events is reduced almost to the minimum necessary for the understanding of the descriptive material. Certain chapters, notably that on religion, are very closely written in order to include the maximum amount of material which the space permits. This procedure results in a condensation of details with which, it seems to the reviewer, it would be difficult to face the general student. Each chapter is prefaced with an adequate bibliography of primary sources and standard works, largely in French and German.

The text is free neither of error nor of controversial material: e.g., the theory of the origin of the term tragedy from the goat prize is offered without reservation (p. 265). The attribution of the *cothurnus* to the comic actor (p. 271, note 4) is presumably an oversight; perhaps also *perizōma* for *diazōma* (p. 266) with reference to the theater. In addition, the references show numerous inaccuracies, which it is perhaps fruitless to list, and which are less damaging to the book, in view of the use for which it is intended, than the errors in the text.

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The Forty-Third Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States will be held at Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, on Friday and Saturday, April 14 and 15, 1950, with the cooperation of the Classical League of the Lehigh Valley. Details will be announced shortly.

INEXPENSIVE BOOKS AND THE TEACHING OF THE CLASSICS¹

The list of titles of classical interest in the various inexpensive book series has been steadily growing since the war, and it is now possible to conduct a course in Greek and Latin literature in translation based upon a dozen complete works each semester with no greater cost to the students than the amount paid for a standard anthology. Teachers of ancient history, art, and archaeology will also find a number of new books that may be used as supplementary reading in their courses. The advantages of putting complete works in the hands of students, even when only selections are assigned reading, are too obvious to need restatement here.

The list below does not aim at completeness, but seeks to furnish last-minute information about current and forthcoming titles that have come to the compiler's attention, and about plans for reprinting books that have gone out of stock. The publishers are eager to receive suggestions for new volumes, and are ready to reissue out-of-print titles if a real need is indicated.

Penguin Books Ltd., publishers of Penguin and Pelican Books, are adding new titles of classical interest nearly every month, and are planning to keep in print all volumes for which there is a demand. The translations of ancient authors are newly prepared for this series by competent hands. Mr. H. F. Paroissien, Business Manager of the firm, is at present engaged in securing a warehouse and establishing an agency in the United States to facilitate distribution.

Penguin Books. Authors in translation:

- Homer, *Odyssey* (E. V. Rieu); 50¢.
- Homer, *Iliad* (E. V. Rieu); Apr. 1950.
- Sophocles, *The Theban Plays* (E. F. Watling); reprinting Jan. 1950.
- Sophocles, *Four Plays* (E. F. Watling); in prep.
- Xenophon, *The Persian Expedition* (R. Warner); 35¢.
- Plato, *Symposium* (W. Hamilton); 1951.
- Plato, *The Last Days of Socrates* (H. Tredennick); in prep.
- Theocritus, *Idylls* (A. Cook); in prep.
- Lucretius, *The Nature of the Universe* (R. E. Latham); 1951.
- Caesar, *The Conquest of Gaul* (S. A. Handford); 1951.
- Virgil, *Pastoral Poems* (E. V. Rieu); 35¢.
- Tacitus, *On Britain and Germany* (H. Mattingly); 35¢.
- Apuleius, *Golden Ass* (R. Graves); Apr. 1950.
- Medieval Latin Lyrics (H. Waddell); in prep.

¹ Ed. Note: In order to make possible the immediate publication of this article for the benefit of those who are planning their courses for the coming semester, the departments "Notes and News" and "Books Received" are omitted from this issue.

Penguin-Pelican Books. Other items of interest to teachers of the classics:

- Adam, L., *Primitive Art*; 75¢.
- Albright, W. F., *The Archaeology of Palestine*; 75¢.
- Barrow, R. H., *The Romans*; 35¢.
- Childe, V. Gordon, *What Happened in History*; 35¢.
- Edwards, I. E. S., *The Pyramids*; 35¢.
- Fairbanks, Alfred, *A Book of Scripts*; Jan. 1950; 75¢.
- Farrington, Benjamin, *Greek Science: Thales to Aristotle*; 35¢.
- Farrington, Benjamin, *Greek Science: Theophrastus to Galen*; 35¢.
- Frankfort, H., and Others, *Before Philosophy*; 35¢.
- Hawkes, J. and C., *Prehistoric Britain*; 35¢.
- Kitto, H. D. F., *The Greeks*; Sept. 1950.
- Maclagan, Eric, *The Bayeux Tapestry*; 75¢.
- Macmillan, W. M., *Africa Emergent*; 75¢.
- Moore, W. G., *A Dictionary of Geography*; 35¢.
- Piggott, Stuart, *Early Indian Civilization*; Sept. 1950.
- Rosenthal, Ernst, *Pottery and Ceramics*; 35¢.
- Vaillant, G., *The Aztecs of Mexico*; Nov. 1950.
- Woolley, Leonard, *Digging Up the Past*; 35¢.
- Woolley, Leonard, *Ur: The First Phases*; 75¢.

Everyman's Library. As a result of the devaluation of the British pound, volumes in the Everyman's Library will be reduced this month to 95¢ each. The items listed in the first three groups are now available.

Greek authors:

- Homer (2 vols.).
- Sophocles.
- Euripides (2 vols.).
- Aristophanes (2 vols.).
- Herodotus (2 vols.).
- Thucydides.
- Plato (3 vols.).
- Aristotle (3 vols.).
- Euclid.
- Plutarch, *Lives* (3 vols.).
- Marcus Aurelius.

Latin authors:

- Lucretius.
- Virgil (2 vols.).
- Horace.
- Livy (vols. 2, 5, 6 only).
- Ovid.
- Tacitus, *Annals*.
- St. Augustine (2 vols.).

General works:

- Grote, *History of Greece* (12 vols.).
- Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* (6 vols.).
- Smith, *A Smaller Classical Dictionary*.
- Atlas of Ancient and Classical Geography*.

To be reprinted in 1950:

- Aeschylus.
 Caesar, *Gallia War and Other Commentaries*.
 Cicero, *Offices, Friendship, Old Age, Select Letters*.
 Tacitus, *Germania and Agricola*.

Modern Library. Except as otherwise indicated, these are priced at \$1.25 a volume.

- Homer, *Iliad*.
 Homer, *Odyssey*.
 Herodotus.
 Thucydides.
Four Greek Plays: Agamemnon (L. Campbell),
Oedipus (F. Storr), *Medea* (A. S. Way), *Frogs*
 (J. H. Frere).
 Plato, *Republic and Selections* (2 vols.).
 Aristotle, *Politics and Selections* (2 vols.).
The Latin Poets (selections from 13 poets).
 Virgil.
 Horace.
 Petronius.
 Tacitus.
 St. Augustine, *Confessions*.
 Boethius, *Consolation*.
 Plutarch, *Lives* ("Dryden"; Modern Library Giant,
 \$2.45).
 Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* (3 vols.; Modern Library
 Giants, \$2.45 each vol.).

The Little Library of Liberal Arts (The Liberal Arts Press) offers the following titles, each with a new introduction prepared for this series:

- Plato, *Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, and Death Scene from Phaedo* (F. J. Church); 40¢.
 Plato, *Meno* (B. Jowett); 35¢.
 Plato, *Symposium* (B. Jowett); 40¢.
 Plato, *Theaetetus* (B. Jowett); 45¢.
 Plato, *Timaeus* (B. Jowett); 50¢.
 Plato, *Phaedo* (F. J. Church); Spring 1950.
 Aristotle, *On the Art of Poetry*, with a Supplement:
Aristotle on Music (S. H. Butcher); 40¢.
 Epictetus, *Enchiridion* (T. W. Higginson); 35¢.
 Plautus, *Menaechmi* (F. O. Copley); 35¢.
 Terence, *The Woman of Andros* (F. O. Copley); 35¢.

Classics Club Editions. The book plates of the Classics Club Editions, formerly published by Walter J. Black, Inc., have been purchased by D. Van Nostrand Company; these volumes are being republished at \$1.25 each. To date the following classical volumes have appeared:

- Homer, *Iliad* (S. Butler).
 Homer, *Odyssey* (S. Butler).
 Plato, *Five Great Dialogues: Apology, Crito, Phaedo, Symposium, Republic* (B. Jowett). *Phaedo* and *Republic* are somewhat abridged.

- Aristotle, *On Man in the Universe: Metaphysics* (Macmahon); *Parts of Animals* (Ogle); *Ethics* (Welldon); *Politics* (Jowett); *Poetics* (Butcher).
 All are somewhat abridged.

Horace, *Selected Poems* (G. F. Whicher).

Mentor Books (The New American Library of World Literature, Inc.) have three classical titles and are contemplating adding others:

- Homer, *Odyssey* (W. H. D. Rouse); 35¢.
 Homer, *Iliad* (W. H. D. Rouse); Jan. 1950; 35¢.
 Hamilton, Edith, *The Greek Way to Western Civilization*; 35¢.

The **Open Court Publishing Company**, La Salle, Illinois, offers the following:

- Empedocles, *Fragments* (W. E. Leonard); \$1.00.
 Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, Book I (Introd., Notes, Transl. by A. E. Taylor); 60¢.
 Archimedes, *Geometrical Solutions Derived from Mechanics* (Transl. by J. L. Heiberg, Introd. by D. E. Smith); 30¢.
 Carus, Paul, *Virgil's Prophecy on the Saviour's Birth*; 50¢.
 Cook, Stanley A., *Religion of Ancient Palestine*; 60¢.

Three recent inexpensive collections of Greek plays are:

- Robinson, C. A., Jr. (ed.), *An Anthology of Greek Drama* ("Rinehart Editions," No. 29), New York, Rinehart and Co., 1949; pp. xx, 269; 65¢: *Agamemnon* (G. Thomson), *Oedipus the King* (D. Grene), *Antigone* (R. Whitelaw), *Medea* (R. C. Trevelyan), *Hippolytus* (A. S. Way), *Lysistrata* (C. T. Murphy).
 Zeiger, Arthur (ed.), *Plays of the Greek Dramatists*, New York, Caxton House, Inc., 1946; pp. xvi, 360; \$1.00: *Agamemnon*, *Choephoroe*, *Eumenides* (A. S. Way), *Antigone*, *Electra*, *Oedipus the King* (G. Young), *Cyclops* (P. B. Shelley), *Iphigenia in Tauris* (R. Potter), *Lysistrata*, *Clouds*, *Frogs* (Anon.).
 Aristophanes, *Five Comedies*, New York, World Publishing Co., 1948; pp. 288, \$1.25: *Knights*, *Lysistrata*, *Clouds*, *Birds*, *Frogs* (Anon.).

That publishers are willing to undertake the printing of so many old and new translations of Greek and Roman authors is another testimonial to the intrinsic merits of the ancient classics. These publishers are performing a real service to us. We can further help ourselves by communicating to them what books we should like to see printed in inexpensive format.

WILLIAM H. STAHL

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY



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